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Memories of the historic past can change abruptly as new discoveries appear; the article by Bradford L. Rauschenberg in this *Journal* demonstrates that fact by recounting startling revelations which clarify the dimly-remembered story of two ceremonial chairs. Through a series of steps, from the gift of a chair to the Unanimity Lodge of Edenton in 1788, as recorded in the minutes of that event, to letters from Norfolk in 1811 and 1815, which begin to cloud the picture, to an amazing account in 1876-77, which actually recognized the "immemorial patronymic of cabinetmakers," Benjamin Bucktrout of Williamsburg, to modern interpretation, still another one hundred years later, that "Lord Baltimore" gave the chair to the Alexandria Lodge, founded in 1783, we see the value of renewed efforts in research.

This discovery serves as notice that we should be constantly aware of the value of a second look at the decorative arts which surround us. It is this reappraisal that can often lead to a better understanding of our past heritage.

FRANK L. HORTON

Senior Research Fellow

Two Outstanding Virginia Chairs

BRADFORD L. RAUSCHENBERG

The mystique of eighteenth-century Freemasonry is often expressed in the ceremonial chairs found in Masonic lodges. While the handling of Masonic motifs on these chairs is highly individual, the basic structure often makes retardataire use of conventional designs; at the same time the cabinetmakers frequently display awareness both of current English design books and of furniture in the "latest fashion" recently imported from England. The cultural closeness of tidewater Virginia to English society required that the cabinetmaker follow a style of English origin. This is reflected in two previously unrecorded chairs which were heretofore thought to be English or Scottish in origin, but which have now been attributed to Virginia. Both are important to the furniture historian in that they provide missing links in the fragmented history of Virginia chairs. However, each is unique, one being the first Virginia example to make use of the hairy-paw foot and the other, also of Virginia origin, displaying the first American example of a dolphin leg.

While little has been published on southern chairs, there are numerous Virginia examples, and they are currently being recorded along with other examples of southern decorative art by MESDA's field research program. The mahogany master's chair with hairy-paw feet was recorded in the Fredericksburg Masonic Lodge No. 4 (Fig. 1).



Photographs in this issue by Bradford L. Rauschenberg, the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, except where noted.

Figure 1. Masonic hairy-paw foot arm chair, Fredericksburg Lodge No. 4, 1765-80, unknown craftsman but attributed to Fredericksburg area origin. Mahogany with American black walnut glue blocks. HOA 42½ inches, WOA at knees 26¼ inches. One piece shoe, no pegging of joints. MESDA research file S-5929.

Tradition dictates that the Falmouth Lodge, located across the Rappahannock River from Fredericksburg, ordered the chair from Scotland. Because of the early demise of the Falmouth Lodge by 1777, the Fredericksburg Lodge accepted the master's chair and a warden's chair of lesser quality.¹

Unfortunately, records of the Falmouth Lodge no longer exist and eighteenth-century records for the Fredericksburg Lodge No. 4 exist only for the years 1752-1771.² A search of these records failed to find any mention of a chair's having been bought or given by the Falmouth Lodge.



Figure 2. Detail of Figure 1 showing profile of hairy-paw foot. Note well-defined carving and fetlock, and absence of carving on ankle.

There seemed a strong possibility that such a chair was from Virginia. The probability of an American Masonic Lodge's ordering a chair from Scotland or England seemed remote; organizations of the Freemasons were fraternal above all, and included local craftsmen of varying talent, among them certainly a cabinetmaker. Also microscopic examination proved the original glue blocks to be of American black walnut.³

Stylistically, the chair has the unusual feature of hairy-paw feet. This surprising rarity for the South has been thought to occur only on the best urban furniture, usually of Philadelphia origin. The vertical profile of the knuckles (Fig. 2) is at variance with Philadelphia examples, which slant at the top of the paw.⁴ While the foot profile is unusual, the cabriole leg is not of the best design when compared to those of Philadelphia or New York. However, the Chippendale squareness continues through to the paw, as in some New York examples, without rounding at the ankle as in Philadelphia.⁵

The New York comparison may be carried further through the shaped rear foot (Fig. 4) and the gadrooning of the front seat rail (Fig. 3). While gadrooning is not uncommon, it is



Figure 3. Detail of Figure 1, showing depth of carving and gadrooned front rail.



Figure 4. Side view of Figure 1 showing square rear foot, partial carving of side rail, knee block on face of side rail instead of underneath as in Figure 3.

rare on chairs in Philadelphia. The New York gadrooning is generally straight and has little elaboration when compared with the richness and undulation of Philadelphia examples.⁶ The gadrooning of the Mason's chair is nailed to the bottom of the seat rail in the usual manner and not glued to the front as in some Tidewater Virginia chairs.⁷ The individuality of the Mason's chair gadrooning lies in the foliage carved on the positive lobes,⁸ an elaboration unknown elsewhere in America.

The robust yet not overlapping bi-directional foliage of the knee, in an unusual manner, is flanked by four and five petalled flowers upon leaves and vine springing from the voluted knee blocks. On the knee two C-scrolls frame a punchwork background for another five-petalled flower.

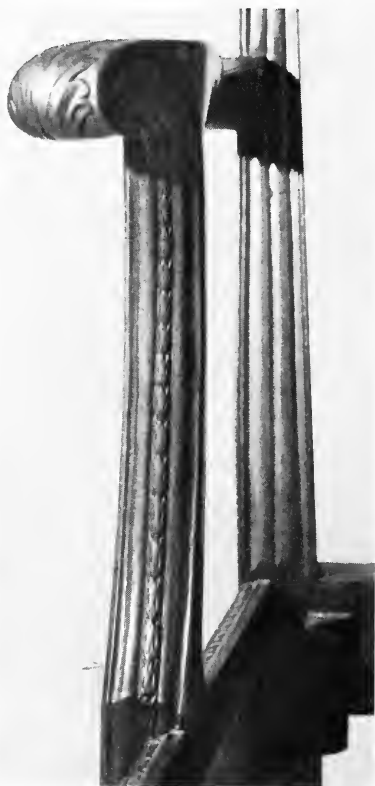


Figure 5. Detail of Figure 1 illustrating arm support with reversed husks and molding of arm support and back post.

The front seat rail again repeats the flower-upon-leaves motif at the center of the panel, to emphasize the undulation of S-scrolls separating foliage motifs of alternating shape. This repeating design and borders of occasional half-flowers, all on a punched background, complement the knee design.

The side rails do not totally escape this treatment, but curiously it appears only in the area from the arm supports forward (Fig. 4). This partial side rail decoration is perhaps indicative of chairs for ceremonial usage, as when lesser chairs were to be placed next to the main chair.⁹ The side rail is taller than the front rail minus the gadrooning. This causes



Figure 6. Detail of Figure 1 illustrating crest rail, splat, and shoe carving. Also note partial joint, arm to back post.

the knee blocks to be on the surface of the side rail, whereas on the front rail they are attached underneath with the gadrooning.

Also interesting is the fact that the carving of the entire top of the seat rail is so minimal as to be almost vestigial when compared with richly carved Philadelphia examples.¹⁰ The arm supports and back posts are molded. In the center of the arm supports is a line of running reversed husks similar to the roping of Maryland armchair supports (Fig. 5).¹¹ The top of the arm has carved foliage originating at its scrolled handhold and extending to the back posts. The connection of arm to back post with only half the post width is unlike New York and Philadelphia examples, where the junction is made with the entire surface of the back post. The crest

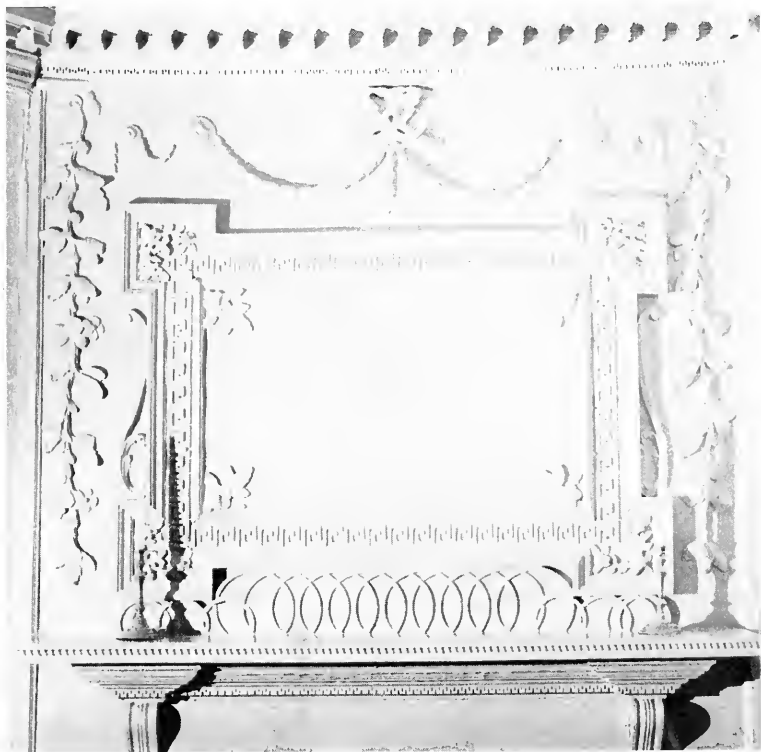


Figure 7a. Overmantle of "Chimneys", c. 1769-1771. Historic Fredericksburg Foundation headquarters. MESDA research file S-5981.

rail is of a rounded-ear type often seen in eastern Virginia,¹² and it is carved with the same flower-on-leaf motifs and Freemason emblems (Fig. 6).

The splat, in a nonregional style altered to display many Freemason emblems in profile, is seated in a one-piece shoe and back rail, the surface of which is carved with flowers, triglyphs, and foliage. The rear seat rail is impressed "I" to indicate number one, suggestive of a set (one master and two warden's chairs).



Figure 7b. Detail of flower-upon-leaves motifs.

Motifs of vines with flowers on leaves (Figs. 7a, 7b) almost identical to those of the master's chair (Figs. 3, 6), appear on an over-mantle in a house known as the "Chimneys"¹³ located close to the Masonic Lodge in Fredericksburg. This particular carved design is not known elsewhere in Virginia architecture or furniture.¹⁴



Figure 8. Masonic dolphin-leg arm chair, Unanimity Lodge No. 7, Edenton, North Carolina, c. 1766-78. The Bible is open at Kings I:vii and relates to the details of Solomon's construction. Mahogany primary wood with gilding on several ornaments, original black leather upholstery with brass tacking. Secondary wood of American black walnut inner seat framing and blocks. HOA 65½ inches, WOA 31¼ inches at knees, DOA 29½ inches at feet. MESDA research file S-5800.

The Falmouth-Fredericksburg chair is attributed to that area of Virginia. While comparison was made with Philadelphia and New York examples, the craftsman is thought to be of English background, a man simply making use of the skills and designs learned in common heritage with his contemporaries to the north.

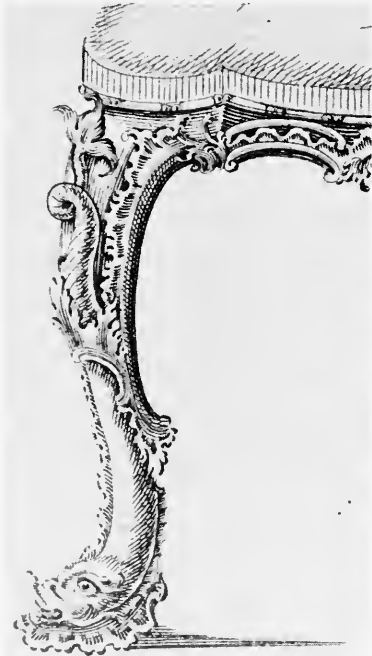


Figure 9 (left). Detail of dolphin leg from plate XX, "French Chairs," *The Gentlemen and Cabinetmaker's Director* by Thomas Chippendale, 1755 edition.

Figure 10. Detail of Figure 8 illustrating dolphin leg on Bucktrout chair.

The second chair (Fig. 8) may well be the most elaborate American Freemason's chair known. It was discovered in Unanimity Lodge No. 7 of Edenton, North Carolina, where it has been in use since 1778. It was made and inscribed by Benjamin Bucktrout, in all probability during his earliest period of work in Williamsburg, Virginia, 1766-1779.

The chair is further distinguished as the only known example of the dolphin leg and foot in eighteenth-century America. While this design represented the highest vogue in England, it failed to materialize in America until its revival by Charles Honore' Lannuier in his early nineteenth-century New York shop.¹⁵



Figure 11. Side view of Bucktrout chair showing front and rear leg, arm rest and support.

The sophisticated use of the dolphin leg in English furniture from 1755 to 1760 is apparent, as examples survive that reflect the highest quality and style.¹⁶ The stimulus for this feature appeared in Thomas Chippendale's *The Gentleman and Cabinetmaker's Directory*, beginning with the 1754 and 1755 editions (plate XX), and continuing in the 1762 third edition (plate XXI), entitled "French Chairs."

It is surprising that this feature has not been found before in American furniture of the eighteenth century, for the scroll foot, found in a few American examples,¹⁷ is shown on the same plate and elsewhere in the *Director* as the dolphin leg. The scroll foot is always found on more elaborate surviving examples.

That this leg was carefully copied directly from the *Director* is apparent: even the loop of the tail and shape of the head are identical (Figs. 9, 10). This was not usually the case with cabinetmakers as existing English examples illustrate liberties in design which often are grotesque.



Figure 12. Detail of Bucktrout chair illustrating capitals, bust and rusticated arch.

This exactness with which the hand copied the *Director* plate for the dolphin leg is seen again in the capitals on the columns at the top of the tri-columned back (Fig. 12). The *Director's* plate for "Corinthian Order" and "Composite Order" are copied exactly. Being of a lower order, the Corinthian (Fig. 13) is used on each side to support the arch. The Composite (Fig. 14) supports the bust of Matthew Prior (Fig. 15).

The appearance of busts on American furniture normally occurs on Philadelphia case pieces of the 1765 to 1780 period. Unquestionably developing from plate 78 of the *Director* (1754), the bust was placed on only the best of furniture, and is incorporated in the trade card of the most sophisticated of American rococo cabinetmakers — Benjamin Randolph of Philadelphia.¹⁸

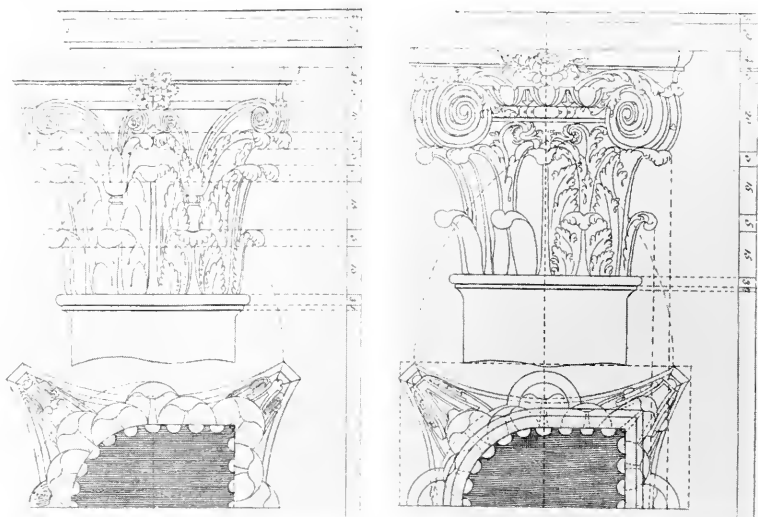


Figure 13 (left). Detail of "Corinthian Order" from the *Director*, 1755 edition.

Figure 14. Detail of "Composite Order" from the *Director*, 1755 edition.

Crowning the most lavish of Philadelphia case pieces, the busts included famous diplomats, statesmen, poets, and philosophers such as John Locke, Benjamin Franklin and John Milton.

The design source for these busts may have been paintings, engravings, existing busts, or perhaps ceramics. Such is the case of the Philadelphia desk and bookcase with a bust of John Locke, whose source undoubtedly is an engraving by George Vertue from a painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller. Again, John Locke is found on another desk and bookcase with a probable source of Wedgwood's basalt bust, apparently after the carver Michael Rysbrack of England.¹⁹

Such is the logical source for the chair bust here attributed as Matthew Prior (1664-1721), who is buried in the poets' corner of Westminster Abbey. About 1700 Antoine Coysevox carved a marble bust of Matthew Prior. In 1723 Michael Rysbrack incorporated the bust in Prior's funeral monument.²⁰ Prior was painted by many English artists whose works undoubtedly became sources for engravings and ceramics. An engraving of Prior by Vertue is known, and ceramic busts which were derived from the original bust by Coysevox are in existence.²¹



Figure 15. Detail of Figure 8, illustrating mahogany bust of Matthew Prior. HOA 7¼ inches, WOA 6 inches.

Busts on Philadelphia furniture arouse debate as to carver or school of carvers, and the bust of Prior can be compared with existing Philadelphia examples. Whether this was ordered from Philadelphia or carved by Benjamin Bucktrout in Virginia remains unknown, although examples of southern craftsmen patronizing Philadelphia carvers are known. Mahogany stair spandrels in New Bern, North Carolina, are probably of Phil-

adelphia origin.²³ A mahogany figurehead was carved in Philadelphia for a ship built in Washington, North Carolina,²⁴ and a fireback pattern for the Marlboro Furnace in Virginia was also executed in Philadelphia.²⁵

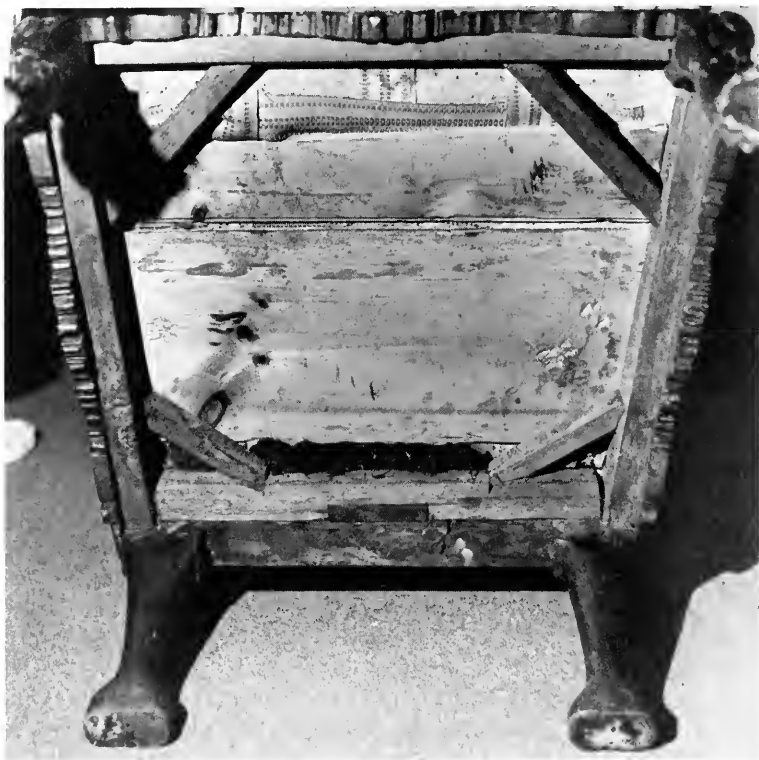


Figure 16. Under-construction showing massive American black walnut framing and diagonal braces. The outer carved members are applied. Later white pine board reinforcing.

The size of the chair dictated a strength of construction unusual in ordinary chairs. The massive inner seat framing and corner diagonal strips which notch into the frame are totally of American black walnut (Fig. 16). The seat was strengthened by reinforcing it with boards at a later date, but a close inspection of the leather seat and its stuffing indicate that they are original except for a rear alteration.

The walnut frame is faced with applied convex mahogany strips which carry the carving. At the sides the applied members pass over the side of the rear legs (Fig. 11). The rear foot is cleft from its base upward to form a bi-lobed club. This foot has a drilled hole for fastening the chair to a platform, as is sometimes the custom in Masonic lodges.

There is no question that Benjamin Bucktrout made the chair, for impressed on the reverse of the center composite capital is the name BENIMAN/BUCKTROUT — a definitive statement in an easily seen place (Fig. 17).



Figure 17. Detail of reverse of Composite capital supporting bust of Matthew Prior, showing impressed "BENIMAN / BUCKTROUT". HOA $\frac{3}{8}$ inches, WOA $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

It is significant that this chair, the earliest discovered example of colonial Virginia furniture to bear a Williamsburg cabinetmaker's name, is one embodying so many elements of carving, a feature rare in the vernacular of Virginia cabinet-making.

Bucktrout first appears in America with his advertisement in *The Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), July 25, 1766:

B. BUCKTROUT,

CABINET MAKER, from London, on the main street near the Capitol in Williamsburg, makes all sorts of cabinet-work, either plain or ornamental, in the neatest and newest fashions. He hopes to give satisfaction to all Gentlemen who shall please to favour him with their commands.

N. B. Where likewise may be had the mathematical GOUTY CHAIR.

Bucktrout's immediate success in Williamsburg is attested by his purchase of Anthony Hay's cabinet business in 1767. At that time he advertised "Chinese and Gothic PALING for gardens and summer houses" in addition to SPINETs and HARPSICHORDS made and repaired."²⁶

A short-lived partnership with William Kennedy ended in 1769 with a statement by Kennedy that he had "no intention to rob Mr. Bucktrout of his old customers, nor does he think he can as yet properly call any his own."²⁷

Bucktrout continued in the old Hay shop and soon advertised for journeymen cabinetmakers who would "meet with good encouragement." By 1771 he had expanded his business to include paper hangings "of the newest Fashions, for Stair-cases, Rooms, and Ceilings; namely embossed, Stucco, Chintz, Striped, Mosaick, Damask, and common. — Rooms papered in the neatest Manner, and on reasonable Terms."²⁸ His business had expanded to include such a variety of goods by 1775 that he found it necessary to advertise again as a cabinetmaker and that he still carried on that business in all its branches.²⁹

Benjamin Bucktrout's first and most important period ended with the sale of his household possessions and shop tools in late 1779. This was in preparation to leave Williamsburg, in all probability because of his Tory sympathies. He reappeared in Williamsburg in the fall of 1781 and continued to maintain a residence there until his death in 1813.³⁰

The success of his business, if all records survived, would probably show that he was among the most successful cabinet-makers in Williamsburg. The difficulty of attributing Virginia furniture is apparent when one considers that of the twelve other cabinetmakers working in eighteenth-century Williamsburg, no other example has been attributed to a definite craftsman.

The chair has an interesting history. One hundred years after its construction it was known to have been made by Bucktrout and that he worked in Williamsburg.³¹ The history was lost during its second hundred years of existence.

The scribe of Unanimity Lodge No. 7 in Edenton, North Carolina, noted in the minutes of July 6, 1778, that “. . . Br. [George] Russel presented the Lodge with an Elegant Masters Chair.”³²

Just how Russel came into possession of the chair has been the subject of much discussion and the generator of many myths. Behind this there has been some evidence to support the word-of-mouth stories.

The files of Unanimity Lodge No. 7 contain two letters, dated 1811 and 1815, requesting the return of the chair. These were from Norfolk Lodge No. 1. The 1811 letter relates how “some of the old members of the Lodge say, that the chair now in Unanimity Lodge was brought here [to Norfolk] during the Revolutionary War, to save it from capture or destruction by the enemy.” Brought from where?

The July 2, 1815, letter states that “information from several Brethren . . . that a carved Mahogany or Walnut chair, decorated with Masonic Emblems, belonging to the Norfolk Lodge No. 1, which was removed from this place during the Revolutionary War for security is at this time in possession of Unanimity Lodge No. 54 [*sic*] Edenton.”

On January 14, 1876, Alexandria Lodge No. 22, of Virginia, corresponded with Unanimity requesting information about the chair because of a newspaper article (of Virginia?) in which the chair was discussed. One wonders what was said in the article which would make the Alexandria Lodge respond with a letter. Perhaps here began the false story of three chairs being presented by “Lord Baltimore” to the Lodges of Virginia, the Bucktrout one going to the Alexandria Lodge. The formation of the Alexandria Lodge was in 1783. In 1788 it became no. 22 under Virginia Masonic count. With this late date the Alexandria Lodge could not have been the owner of the chair which arrived in Edenton in 1778.

On April 26, 1877, the *Raleigh Observer* carried an article noting that the chair originally came from the Williamsburg Lodge and describes it as “a Masonic chair, with the various emblems of masonry carved thereon.”

Later, on October 6, 1877, the *Raleigh Observer*, in another extensive article, mentions the 1811 and 1815 letters from the Norfolk Lodge, but notes that the chair originally came from a Masonic Meeting in Williamsburg in 1777. Further in the article it is stated that "On the back of the chair is the odd name Benjamin Bucktrout. Capt. [Octavius] Coke [North Carolina Secretary of State], who came from Williamsburg, says that Bucktrout is an "immemorial patronymic of cabinetmakers in that old town." There follows a detailed description of the chair which ends with the statement that "the front feet of this chair represent dragon's heads, the arms a lion's paws."

Perhaps the true tidewater origin of lodge ownership will never be known, as the records of the Norfolk Lodge No. 1 (1733) prior to 1789 are destroyed. Williamsburg Lodge No. 6 (1773) records exist from June 29, 1773 to April 29, 1779, with Treasury records to 1784. A search of these records revealed nothing regarding the chair. Bucktrout was a member of the Williamsburg Lodge. He was initiated February 7, 1774, and passed May 6th of the same year.³³ Bucktrout was present at the October 13, 1778, meeting in Williamsburg for installing John Blair as Grand Master of Virginia.³⁴

Since the installation of John Blair occurred in October, and the Unanimity Lodge of Edenton had received the chair the previous July, the Grand Master could not have been installed in the Bucktrout chair. This does not, however, prove that the chair had not already been removed from the Williamsburg Lodge prior to October, 1778. The chair could well have been made in preparation for this ceremony. The first meetings to make this selection of a Grand Master were in May and June of 1777.³⁵

While the Lodge history is clouded, the Bucktrout chair stands as one of the most important in America. It is certainly the most elaborate and ranks among the great discoveries in American furniture.

*Mr. Rauschenberg is Research Fellow at the Museum of
Early Southern Decorative Arts.*

NOTES

1. William Moseley Brown, *Freemasonry in Virginia* (Richmond: Masonic Home Press, Inc., 1936), pp. 29, 30, 45, 46.
2. The Fredericksburg Lodge No. 4 minutes for the years 1752-1771 are kept in the lodge. Microfilm copies are available at the Virginia State Library.
3. The glue-block arrangement in Philadelphia is usually quarter-rounded vertically grained double blocks at the front and single blocks at the rear corners. See John T. Kirk, *American Chairs Queen Anne and Chippendale* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), pp. 29-30, Fig. 19.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 94, Fig. 93. Other hairy-paw examples are illustrated in William MacPherson Hornor, Jr., *Blue Book Philadelphia Furniture* (Philadelphia: Julian B. Slevin Co., Inc., 1935), Plates 99, 104, 105, 229. A discussion of Boston hairy-paw feet is found in Mary Ellen Hayward Yehia, "Ornamental Carving on Boston Furniture of the Chippendale Style," *Boston Furniture of the Eighteenth Century* (Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1974), pp. 197-222.
5. Kirk, *op. cit.*, p. 117, Fig 138, and p. 94, Fig. 93.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 116, Fig. 136, and p. 94, Fig. 93.
7. Wallace B. Gusler and Harold B. Gill, Jr., "Some Virginia Chairs: A Preliminary Study," *Antiques*, April, 1972, Vol. CL, No. 4, pp. 716-721, Fig. 1.
8. Kirk, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
9. M. Harris and Sons, *A Catalogue and Index of Old Furniture and Works of Decorative Art* (London: Bemrose and Sons, Ltd., n. d.), p. 254.
10. Kirk, *op. cit.*, p. 81, Fig. 71.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 161, Fig. 223. Aside from the introduction of the husk design into the colonies via design books, an example of a very solid importation into Williamsburg, in 1770, is the stove of Lord Botetourt. This is a London-made stove bought for use in Williamsburg, and is ornately decorated with Rococo designs of husk swags, urns, and figures. See Henry C. Mercer, *The Bible in Iron* (Narberth: Livingstons Publishing Co., 1961), p. 141, Plate 335. The husk is seen on the ceilings of "Kenmore," c. 1752, in Fredericksburg, which is undoubtedly taken from Batty Langley, *The City and Country Builder's and Workman's Treasury of Designs . . .* (London: Printed for S. Harding, 1756), Plates CLXX and CLXXV. See Thomas Tileston Waterman, *The Mansions of Virginia 1706-1776* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1945), pp. 322-323.
12. Gusler and Gill, "Some Virginia Chairs," p. 720, Fig. 13. Several others have been recorded by the MESDA field research program.
13. The headquarters for the Historic Fredericksburg Foundation is in the "Chimneys," located at 623 Caroline Street. An attempt to trace the title of this property (lot 12) produced the evidence

that improvements were made after Charles Yates, a merchant and Freemason, bought lots 11 and 12 on March 24, 1769, for 130 pounds currency from William Dangerfield (Spotsylvania Deeds G.253). On March 20, 1771, John Glassell, merchant and lumber dealer, purchased 12 only for 200 pounds sterling and 100 pounds currency, approximately 355 pounds currency. This increase in value from 130 to 355 pounds in less than two years indicates considerable improvements to the house. The overmantle is probably from this 1769 to 1771 period.

14. Kirk, *op. cit.*, p. 81, Fig. 71, illustrates an interesting Philadelphia example.
15. Lorraine W. Pearce, "The Distinctive Character of the Work of Lannuier," *Antiques*, December, 1976, Vol. LXXXVI, No. 6 pp. 712-717. See also the Metropolitan Museum of Art, *19th-Century America* (England: The Curwen Press, Ltd., 1970), Figs. 39-41.
16. Lewis F. Hinckley, *A Directory of Queen Anne, Early Georgian and Chippendale Furniture* (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1971), p. 71, Plate 27, Fig. 87. Percy Macquoid and Ralph Edwards, *The Dictionary of English Furniture* (Covent Garden, England: Offices of Country Life, MCMXXIV), p. 240, Figs. 101, 103, 104. Herbert Cescinsky, *English Furniture of the Eighteenth Century* (London: George Rutledge and Sons, Ltd., n. d.), Vol. II, p. 192 and Fig. 186.
17. See Nicholas B. Wainwright, *Colonial Grandeur in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1964), pp. 122-123, for a side table. Joseph Downs, *American Furniture Queen Anne and Chippendale Period* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1952), Plate 135. See Kirk, *op. cit.*, p. 40, Note 4, for a discussion of a possible Massachusetts chair. The evidence for copies of the *Director* being in the colonies is not rare, for advertisements are in newspapers by booksellers for this and other design books. What is unusual is to document a single cabinetmaker as having a copy. This is found with the estate appraisal of Edmund Dickinson, cabinetmaker, Williamsburg, July 28, 1778, in which his cabinetmaker's tools are listed with "Chippendales Designs . . . 6." *York County Wills and Inventories*, Vol. 22, 1771-83, Folio 401, as quoted in Barry A. Greenlaw, "Chippendale's Director in Williamsburg, 1778," *Antiques*, July, 1971, Vol. C, No. 1, p. 52.
18. Robert C. Smith, "Finial Busto on Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia Furniture," *Antiques*, December, 1971, Vol. C, No. 6, pp. 900-905.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 903-904, Figs. 8, 9, 11, 12.
20. M. D. Whinney, *Sculpture in Britain 1530-1830* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964), pp. 84-85, Plates 56-57. For a detailed biography of Prior see Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, eds., *The Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1937-39), Volume XVI, pp. 397-401.
21. For a Staffordshire bust of Prior see *Catalogue of Fine English Pottery and Porcelain* (London: Sotheby & Co., February 27, 1968), p. 7, Plate 7.

22. David Piper, *Catalogue of Seventeenth Century Portraits in the National Portrait Gallery 1625-1714* (Cambridge: University Press, 1963), p. 286.
23. MESDA research file S-4231, of the Stanley-Wright and Coor Bishop houses.
24. Bradford L. Rauschenberg, "'Success to the Tuley' et al. via Liverpool," *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts*, 1976, Vol. II, No. 1, p. 15.
25. John Bivins, Jr., "Decorative Cast Iron on the Virginia Frontier," *Antiques*, March 1972, Vol. CI, No. 3, p. 539, Fig. 9.
26. *The Virginia Gazette* (Rind), Williamsburg, February 2, 1769, p. 2.
27. *Ibid.*, March 9, 1769, p. 3.
28. *The Virginia Gazette* (Purdie & Dixon), Williamsburg, September 7, 1769, p. 4, and May 9, 1771, p. 3.
29. *The Virginia Gazette* (Dixon & Hunter), Williamsburg, February 4, 1775, p. 3.
30. Mills Brown, *Cabinetmaking in the Eighteenth Century*, Colonial Williamsburg Research Report, 1959, pp. 145-148.
31. "Letter from Chowan," *Raleigh Observer*, October 6, 1877, p. 2.
32. Records of the Unanimity Lodge No. 7, Edenton, N. C. An account of this chair was first published in Thomas C. Parramore, *Launching the Craft* (Raleigh: Litho Industries, Inc., 1975), pp. 71-72.
33. George Eldridge Kidd, *Early Freemasonry in Williamsburg, Virginia* (Richmond: The Dietz Press, Inc., 1957), p. 62.
34. Dove, *Proceedings of the M. W. Grand Lodge of Ancient York Masons* (Richmond: James E. Goode, 1874), pp. 7-9.
35. Three meetings were held in 1777 in Williamsburg for the purpose of selecting a Grand Master for the State of Virginia, May 6, 13, and June 23. The last meeting decided that George Washington should be the Grand Master. Though not present, he declined. Warner Lewis, past master of the Botetourt Lodge, was nominated, but also declined, and John Blair became the Grand Master. Blair was installed October 13, 1778.

I am grateful to Messrs. W. P. Goodwin, Warren J. Twiddy, and James E. Yates of the Unanimity Lodge No. 7; Messrs. Fred Troy and Earl Cheatham of the Grand Lodge of Virginia; Mr. Edward H. Cann, Mayor of Fredericksburg and past Master, Fredericksburg Lodge No. 4; Messrs. Louis H. Manarin and John W. Dudley, Virginia State Library; Messrs. Wallace B. Gusler and Harold B. Gill, Jr., Colonial Williamsburg Foundation; Mr. T. O. Haunch, Freemasons' Hall, London; Miss Pat Kirkham, Leicester Polytechnic, Leicester; Dr. Charles Avery, Victoria and Albert Museum; Mr. Christopher Gilbert, Temple Newsam House, Leeds; and last, but certainly not least, the Misses Betty Dabill and Edith Potter, field representatives for MESDA.



Figure 1

The West Indian Islands — How Close Were They?

GWYNNE STEPHENS TAYLOR

The proximity of the United States to the West Indies naturally encouraged American trade with those colonies. Valuable West Indian products such as sugar, coffee, spirits, pepper, mahogany, and spices of all kinds were carried by American vessels either straight to Europe or back to the United States. It seems logical to assume that this tropical connection influenced American decorative arts of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, particularly in the South.

In the last decade of the eighteenth century, American trade with the West Indies received a tremendous boost. England and France were at war, and the United States enjoyed a neutral trade status which threw into her hands a good portion of the world trade. England's navy was so superior that it prevented the other nations of Europe from trading with their own colonies, and they had to depend on neutrals to carry articles from their far-flung possessions back to Europe. Johnathan and Daniel Marsh, well known merchants and ship owners in Bath and Washington, North Carolina, were among numerous southern businessmen who participated in this "carrying trade," as it was called.¹ In September, 1797, the Brig "Dorcas," owned by the Marshes, left Washington, N. C., bound for Aux-Cayes, French West Indies, with a typical cargo — 42,684 feet of scantling, 17,530 red oak barrel staves, 100,000 22 inch shingles, 100,000 18 inch shingles, and one trunk containing 60 pieces of striped muslin.²

It was through the shipping activities of men like the Marshes that many of the raw materials used by American craftsmen were brought into this country from the West Indies. The variety of imported woods ranks high in the list of materials which ultimately influenced cabinetmaking practices in America. Mahogany was easily obtainable, and it was less expensive for Charleston craftsmen to have a mahogany log shipped from the West Indies than it was to have a log of some native South Carolina wood hauled a few miles over land. The abundance of mahogany in South Carolina is evidenced by the fact that a great deal of mahogany furniture was owned by the middle classes, not just the wealthy.³ Charleston cabinetmakers tended to "waste" this desirable wood by using it frequently in secondary positions in furniture.

The low cost of mahogany, however, does not seem commensurate with the difficult process of cutting and shipping it. The tree reached heights of one hundred and fifty feet, and diameters of ten to twelve feet, and if two trees were found in one acre of land, it was considered a rarity. In Honduras, cutting gangs of twenty to fifty men worked under a "captain" and were accompanied by a "hunter" who climbed trees to spot other mahogany trees. Selected timbers were cut by an "ax man," who worked on a scaffold ten to fifteen feet above the ground. The base of the mahogany tree contained undesirable wood, and was buttressed by huge supporting roots.

After the tree was felled, the logs, sometimes weighing as much as fifteen tons, were squared off to lighten them, making their removal to a watercourse easier and insuring the economical use of shipping space. In the cooler evening hours, the logs were loaded into trucks pulled by about seven pairs of oxen, with two drivers. The logs were marked with the initials of the owner and thrown into the river, where a strong current would float them to the sea. Logging gangs followed in flat-bottomed canoes to insure that the logs formed a boom at the mouth of the river, where they were prepared for further shipment.⁴

In general, mahogany is noted for its durability and its resistance to insects. There are different species of mahogany, however, and the variations in hue and texture occur as a result of differences in soil composition and varying climatic conditions. As a rule, West Indian mahoganies are darker in hue, silkier in texture, closer in grain, harder and heavier than

any other mahogany. Jamaican mahogany resembles tortoise shell because of its irregular figuring and deep color. Santo Domingan mahogany is distinguished by a fine texture, a close grain, and weight frequently in excess of fifty pounds per cubic foot. Cuban mahogany is as hard as Santo Domingan, but is paler in color and is frequently blemished by dark spots or streaks. Honduran mahogany is lighter-weight and softer than its West Indian counterparts.⁵

Among the many woods imported from the West Indies was *Lignum Vitae*. *Lignum Vitae* was imported into England as early as the sixteenth century and its resin, known as guaiacum, was valued as a medicine. The heartwood of the *Lignum Vitae* tree is brown, green, or black, and contains black streaks. When the tree is first cut, the heartwood is soft enough to work, but once the wood dries out it becomes extremely hard and oily. For that reason its use as a veneer was short-lived.⁶ *Lignum Vitae* wood and utensils, such as punch bowls and mortars, were imported into the South from the early seventeenth century through the nineteenth century.

Satinwood was another important export of the West Indies. It was used extensively as inlay material, but occasionally entire pieces of furniture were fashioned from it. An advertisement which appeared in Charleston in 1801 offered a satinwood table for sale. American cabinetmakers, however, generally preferred to use only satinwood panels of feather crotch veneer to lend interest to mahogany pieces.⁷

Two lesser known exports of the West Indies were Spanish cedar and sabicu. Spanish cedar actually belonged to the mahogany family, but it smelled like cedar. It was used to make cigar boxes, and received the name "cigar box mahogany." It was also used for drawer linings and similar casing work. Sabicu, or "horseflesh mahogany," was one of the rarer woods used by craftsmen in the Federal period. It varied from a medium chestnut-brown to a reddish-brown and was hard, durable, and easily worked. The grain sometimes resembled raw horseflesh.⁸

The list of natural virtues which the West Indies islands had to offer was endless. The islanders even boasted a "soap tree" whose berries could be used as a detergent. The important fact, however, is that the West Indians knew how to take advantage of these gifts of nature. In 1790 Robert Renny wrote that when Columbus found Jamaica in 1503:

Their progress in the arts and in agriculture was considerable. . . . They not only manufactured cloth from their cotton, but they also possessed the art of dyeing it with a variety of colors, some of them of the utmost brilliancy and beauty. Their domestic utensils were various and beautiful. The elegance of their earthenware, their chairs of ebony, and their curiously woven beds; their implements of husbandry; the size, structure, and ornaments of their canoes . . . far from being in a state of nature, they possessed in abundance not only the necessities [*sic*] but even the comforts and elegances of life.⁹

In 1774, Janet Shaw, a native of Scotland, wrote:

From one end of the town of Eustatia to the other is a continued mart, where goods of the most different uses and qualities are displayed before the shop doors. Here hang rich embroideries, painted silks, flowered Muslins, with all the manufactures of the Indies. . . .¹⁰

Some of the items which Janet Shaw described were probably imported from Europe, for the wealthy West Indian planters imported many of their goods from Europe—including their furniture and the latest fashions. Janet Shaw also wrote in her journal that “the people of fashion dress as light as possible; worked and plain muslins, painted gauzes or light Lutstring and Tiffies are the universal wear. They have the fashions every six weeks from London.”

Sugar cane, cotton, indigo, and coffee were the primary money crops, which generated great wealth and formed the West Indian planter society. Daniel Marsh’s shipping papers are replete with references to barrels of molasses and rum, both by-products of sugar production, brought from the West Indies. References are also frequently made to coffee, cocoa, and brandy. The Marsh brothers sent plantation supplies such as pitch, tar, turpentine, and barrel staves to the West Indian plantations, and they received West Indian products in return.

In 1791, however, the plantation aristocracy of the West Indies received the first of several blows—the black slaves revolted against years of harsh treatment and inhuman working conditions. Within two months, 220 sugar, 600 coffee, and 200

cotton and indigo plantations ceased to exist. Approximately 200 whites and 10,000 blacks had been killed. The fierce bitterness of the blacks was expressed in their symbol of a white child impaled on a pike.¹² Many of the whites fled to the United States, and many to Cuba. This was the beginning of a steady stream of French emigrants from Santo Domingo which poured into the United States until the last uprising in 1809. A friend of Johnathan and Daniel Marsh, Mr. Lewis LeRoy, adopted Louis Labarbe, a boy orphaned by the insurrections, and another refugee, Monsieur Chapeau, came to Washington, N. C., to teach French and the polite art of dancing. In the twenty years after 1791, 15,000 to 20,000 Frenchmen came into the South.¹³

The refugees landed mainly in Baltimore, Norfolk, Charleston, and New Orleans. In 1793, 53 ships landed at once in Baltimore carrying 1,000 refugees and 500 slaves, and the emigration had just begun.¹⁴ The Frenchmen were of all degrees of wealth, culture, and ability, but they were warmly received by Americans. In the last quarter of the eighteenth century the United States was more receptive to and more appreciative of the French culture than at any other time in our history.

The refugees drew upon their diverse backgrounds to make new lives for themselves in the United States. The former aristocrats, such as Monsieur Chapeau, opened dancing, fencing, music, and language schools, and their skill in cooking and talent for fashionable dress were well known. American inns and taverns suddenly became "hotels," and bakers and pastry cooks became "restaurateurs." American women began to imitate French fashions, and French hair-dressers became men of importance. In addition to the "aristocratic refugees," however, there were many skilled artisans and small businessmen. In speaking of Baltimore, it has been said that "the skilled artisans among the French excelled in the finer handicrafts, proving superior to the rest of the population in this type of work." In South Carolina, the refugees were even credited with causing a more frequent use of baths, both hot and cold.¹⁵

As a result of the accomplishments of the artistocrat-refugees, between 1793 and 1820 there were thirteen different schools in Norfolk to learn everything from fencing to dancing. In the year 1807, there were thirteen teachers of the several branches of "female accomplishments" in Charleston. They

taught music, dancing, drawing, speaking, reading, writing, and other polite arts.¹⁶

The degree to which French fashions were favored by the ladies of Charleston was recorded by the artist Charles Fraser:

No lady ever appeared in grand costume without first submitting to the operations of the hairdresser; and these artists were in such demand upon the occasion of a great ball that they had to begin work the day before and it was not uncommon for a lady to sit up all night to keep from disturbing her hair.

Wigs were also very much in style, and were considered even more valuable if the tresses had once graced the head of a titled Parisian aristocrat before he or she met the guillotine. In Baltimore, Henrietta Pascault astonished James Gallatin by wearing a bright red wig. It seems that Henrietta owned wigs of different colors to match her dresses, as this was the French fashion of the day.¹⁷

New Orleans inhabitants were willing to adopt many of the luxuries introduced by the refugees. It was observed that just after 1790 citizens of New Orleans changed their dress, their furniture, and their carriages. It was also observed that they adopted a heightened interest in gambling and that there was a general decline in morals. After the arrival of the refugee women, New Orleans women shed their plain clothes and began to wear embroidered muslins in the latest styles, decorated with gold spangles and lace; they also began to use fine jewelry.¹⁸

Aside from influencing the fashion and polite arts in the United States, most of the refugees stayed in or near the cities and maintained shops of various sorts. The influx of Frenchmen included cabinetmakers, upholsterers, glaziers, artists, silversmiths, and architects, to name a few. Even many of the women managed businesses as seamstresses, embroiderers, and boarding-house keepers. Mayor James Mather of New Orleans wrote in 1809 that he

had still received no complaints concerning the refugees, who evinced great respect for the laws. Among the grown men at least two-thirds possess knowledge of some trade. Though formerly proprietors of large estates, they were now cabinet-makers, turners,

bakers, glaziers, upholsterers, and I will venture to assert that in the above and twenty other different trades, there are not less than six hundred men from Cuba usefully employed among us.¹⁹

Norfolk, Virginia, newspaper advertisements offer valid clues to the economic adjustment of the refugees there. P. Desnoes ran a retail shop; Boucher and Brothers sold hardware and general merchandise; James Delauney and Company operated a wholesale and retail hardware business and owned a nail factory. Louis Arnaud carried a varied stock of dry goods, at one point advertising fourteen varieties of cloth.²⁰

In a 1793 Charleston newspaper one Frenchman advertised the manufacturing of "every kind of earthenware, varnished or unvarnished." He also advertised stoves, flat tiles, and other utensils in that line "too long to be enumerated."²¹ Charleston also boasted a booming silversmith's trade which engaged a number of refugees.

Lewis Boudo is perhaps the best-known of the refugee Charleston silversmiths. Boudo was a native of Santo Domingo and arrived in Charleston around 1809. On May 20, 1813, he entered the following advertisement in the *Times* of Charleston:

LEWIS BOUDO begs leave to return his sincere thanks to his Friends, and the Public generally, for the liberal support he has met with, since his commencement in business; and has also the honor of informing them, that he has Removed his STORE to the north-west corner of *Queen and Church Streets*, where he still continues to carry on the Manufactory of a Gold and Silver Smith, Jeweller and Hair Worker.²²

The most famous piece of silver fashioned by Boudo is probably the map case which he made as a gift from the State of South Carolina to General Lafayette on the occasion of the General's visit to Charleston in 1825. After Boudo's death, his wife, Louise, carried on his business.

In the thirty years between 1777 and 1807, the number of silversmiths working in Charleston rose from twenty-four to seventy-two. This increase is due in part to the large influx of artisans from Santo Domingo. At least three other refugees are thought to have practised goldsmithing. Jean Baptiste Pel-

lissier received his naturalization papers in Charleston in 1815 and stated at that time that he was a jeweler from Cape Nicholas Mole, St. Domingo. Another resident of Cape Nicholas Mole who identified himself as a jeweler was Peter Pezant. Pezant is listed in subsequent *Charleston City Directories*, however, as a ship's master, and later as a ship captain. Peter Elizabeth Benjamin Raynal, most likely the son of a Santo Domingan refugee, was goldsmithing in Charleston from 1806 to 1831.²³

Other artists of West Indian extraction contributed to the arts of the United States. Charles Balthazar Julien Fevret de Saint-Memin, the son of a Santo Domingan plantation owner, introduced the physiognotrace method of cutting profiles. St. Memin traveled extensively throughout the southern United States cutting profile portraits for a reasonable fee. John F. E. Prud'homme was a noted engraver who emigrated from St. Thomas in the West Indies in 1807, and John J. Audubon, the famous naturalist, was the illegitimate son of a Santo Domingan planter and a Frenchwoman of the same island.²⁴

Several West Indian emigrants were architects. Joseph Jahan was dubbed an "architect-builder" in the *Charleston Directories* of 1802 and 1803. In 1797, Alexandre-Francois Auguste, Marquis de Grasse, advertised in Charleston that he was prepared "to take a number of scholars" and teach them to design "fortifications, architecture, and landscapes." Jean Baptiste Aveilhe, a Santo Domingan, was also listed in the *Charleston Directory* of 1802 as an architect. In 1803, however, Aveilhe was living in Havre-de-Grace, Maryland. He advertised the following invention in the Raleigh, N. C., *Minerva* of September 5, 1803:

A PATENT MACHINE, For Boring Holes in Rocks under Water, or in any other Situation, and Blasting them. . . .

Should any Company of Gentlemen, who are engaged in clearing and making navigable any of the Inland Rivers of North Carolina and of other states, wish to procure this Machine, will make application to Mr. Rainboow, of Petersburg, Va. Mr. Peter Duport, Charleston, S. C. or to the Inventor at Havre-de-Grace, Maryland. . . .

Aveilhe also invented a horizontal windmill that would grind grain, thresh out wheat and rice, and fan and pound the grains into plaster of Paris.²⁵

There is some dispute as to the architectural origin of the Charleston use of the piazza and the single house. One scholar attributes this style to a combined Spanish and French influence brought in by the Creoles of the West Indies. She claims that the style of house with its shoulder to the street and a double gallery along the side follows a design developed for the hot climate of the West Indies—a Santo Domingan model which allowed gardens and large, airy bedrooms on the third floor. Another scholar, however, claims that the piazza's popularity and origin owed as much to Charleston as it did to the West Indies.²⁶

While the French refugees influenced the fashion, art, and architecture of Daniel Marsh's day, they also influenced the lively arts of music, theatre, and other entertainments. There were many talented musicians among the refugees, and they soon became the mainstay of the Charleston theatre orchestra. They also gave many benefit performances to raise money for one another. A Charlestonian advertised as "Citizen Bulit" even gave French music nightly to accompany his display of Chinese fireworks. In 1798 Citizens Bulit's widow established another form of entertainment; she advertised the opening of her public baths near "Mr. Wrainch's Tavern." West Indians were also prominent in the theatre, and their repertoire included pantomimes, vaudeville performances, and comic operas, as well as plays by Moliere, Rousseau, and Beaumarchais. New Orleans was the first city in the United States to have an opera season. Many of the refugees, moreover, operated entertainment establishments known as Long Rooms.²⁷

Mr. Lege's Long Room in Charleston was advertised frequently in that town's newspapers. On one occasion, from ten in the morning until dark, a section of railroad was put down and a wagon filled with three bales of cotton "which can be pulled up an incline with one finger" exhibited. On another occasion, the concert hall was used to display a hog which measured ten feet, two inches, and weighed 1,325 pounds. A Mr. Placide of Charleston invited the public to his "Vauxhall Gardens" for entertainment consisting of music, pantomimes, ice cream, and cold baths.²⁸ There can be no doubt that Long Rooms were an entertaining contribution to Charleston society.

West Indian influence and contribution to southern society during the first two decades of the United States is a subject which deserves a great deal more research. Fortunately, many valuable records are readily available. In Norfolk, Virginia, alone, there remains a wealth of information concerning the refugees. The law of September 14, 1793, required all Frenchmen living outside France to file Certificates of Residence with the nearest French consulate. These records are brief biographies of the refugees. Other documents filed at French consulates, such as wills, marriage contracts, applications for various certificates, and death and birth notices, should also be studied. The influence of West Indian society on the American Southeast has always been known, but has never been adequately studied or documented. Further research is justified by its effect on American history, in addition to its influence on the decorative arts.

Mrs. Taylor, from Norfolk, Virginia, with an M.A. in history from Wake Forest University, is now working in North Carolina with the Historic Preservations Fund and with the Division of Archives and History.



Figure 2. Silver papboat, Lewis Boudo; collection of the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts.

NOTES

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4. F. Lewis Hinckley, *Directory of Historic Cabinet Woods* (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1960), p. 119.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 120-127.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 168-170.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 47, 48.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 116, 145, 146.
9. Robert Renny, *An History of Jamaica* (London: J. Cawthorn, 1807), p. 8.
10. Evangeline Walker Andrews, editor, *Journal of a Lady of Quality, Being the Narrative of a Journey from Scotland to the West Indies, North Carolina, and Portugal, in the Years 1774 to 1776* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1923), p. 137.
11. *Ibid.*, lutestring or lustring was a kind of glossy silk much worn in the West Indies and the continental colonies. Tiffities or taffetas were a soft silk varying greatly in color and type.
12. Winston C. Babb, *French Refugees from Saint Dominique to the Southern United States: 1791-1810* (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1954), pp. 22, 23.
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16. Babb, *French Refugees*, p. 100.
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18. Berquin-Duvallon, *Vue de la Colonie Espagnole de Mississippí au des Provinces de Louisiane et Floride Occidental* (Paris: 1804), p. 276, cited by Babb, *French Refugees*, p. 126.

19. Dunbar Rowland, editor, *Official Letter Books of W. C. C. Claiborne 1801-1816*, Vol. IV (Jackson, Mississippi: 1917), pp. 404-408, cited by Babb, *French Refugees*, pp. 62, 128.
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I would like to express my gratitude to Mrs. Winston C. Babb, without whose cooperation this article would not have been possible.

The Sharrock Family

A Newly Discovered School of Cabinetmakers

BETTY DAHILL

Not long ago Mesda field research led to the discovery of a chest of drawers in Northampton County where, perhaps as a mark of pride in his craftsmanship, a young man 22 years old¹ had written in ink:

For Capt. Smith
Maid [*sic*] by George Sharrock
May 21st in the year of
Our Lord One Thousand Seven
hundred and Eighty-Seven.²

The precise dating of an early chest, and the assured identification of the builder, would have been gratifying and significant in themselves, but the inscription on the drawer was far more important. The chest is unusual in design and construction (Fig. 1). It was found similar to other case pieces documented to northeastern North Carolina, and a search for further information about the young craftsman proved unusually rewarding. Not only do we now know a good deal more about him; we have also been able to identify him as a member of a family of skilled craftsmen, tracing them beyond their first appearance in North Carolina to their earlier residence in Virginia.

In the northeastern corner of North Carolina, fifteen miles below the Virginia border, the Roanoke River begins to broaden as it swings south toward Albemarle Sound, its valley encompassing parts of Bertie, Northampton, and Halifax Coun-



Figure 1. Chest of drawers, Northampton County, 1781, dated and signed by George Sharrock on the back of the bottom drawer. Walnut with cypress secondary. HOA 49¾ inches, WOA 47½ inches, DOA 24 inches.

ties (Fig. 2). This area was among the earliest settled, although then, as now, no urban centers grew up where communities of craftsmen might develop. A traveler from England, J. F. D. Smyth, writing in 1784, reported his impressions of the area:

The inhabitants of this part of America may be comprehended in a very few classes.

All in the country, without exception, are planters, store-keepers, or persons in trade, and hunters. . . .

In the towns there are some few mechanics, surgeons, lawyers, store-keepers or persons in the commercial line, and tavern-keepers.

However, the generality of the towns are so unconsiderable, that in England they would scarcely acquire the appellation of villages.

Nevertheless, the Albemarle region, of which this area is a central part, has produced numerous examples of the work of skilled furniture craftsmen contributing to the decorative history of the South during the colonial and early federal periods.



Figure 2. The location of the Roanoke River Valley. Charles Christopher Crittenden, *The Commerce of North Carolina 1763-1789*.

By the last three decades of the eighteenth century, the Roanoke Valley area had developed a high standard of culture and wealth, although it was overwhelmingly rural in character. In 1771 Reverend Taylor, who had been called to serve in Northampton County, reported, "It is as wealthy a parish as any in the province. . . ."⁴ Even though they were isolated on individual plantations, the construction of such elegant homes as "The Grove" of Willie Jones, in Halifax County, and "Hope," owned by the merchant Zedekiah Stone of Bertie County, created a need for fine furnishings. Furniture examples documented for this area illustrate that local craftsmen were skillful and capable of satisfying those requirements.

The development of craftsmanship is somewhat surprising because of the many handicaps which the builders faced. Overland transportation was difficult and in most cases a craftsman's trade was limited to his immediate surroundings, too sparsely settled to provide him with full-time employment, so that often he had to supplement his income by farming. Since an individual worker would be well known to all of the other settlers in his own area, and since even small cities were often too distant to serve as markets, few of the builders placed advertisements in the newspapers or bothered to sign the pieces they made, thus significantly increasing the difficulties of modern research in tracing their histories.

In this area in 1766 a young craftsman, Thomas Sharrock, appeared. He was apparently a successful citizen, and was able to purchase one hundred and twenty-five acres of land on the Sandy Run, in southeastern Northampton County.⁵ He had apprenticed himself to Richard Taylor, on May 21, 1756, for a period of five years and nine months "to Learn the trade of a Carpenter and Joiner."⁶ In the majority of cases, such an indenture was set to expire when the apprentice reached the age of twenty-one, so that on the basis of that custom and a simple subtraction, we can assume that Thomas was about fifteen at the time the contract was signed, and probably twenty-five years old when he arrived in North Carolina.

The Sandy Run area had been settled in large part by Quakers, but Thomas was not of that faith; he was an active member of the Anglican Bridgers Creek Chapel.⁷ Although we have no record of the date, he married Barsheba Daugherty, the daughter of a local planter; by 1787 they were the parents of eleven sons and one daughter.⁸

Some time during the next ten years the family evidently moved across the Sandy Run into adjoining Bertie County, for Thomas's will was entered there, and it was there that his estate sale was held at his death in late 1801 or early 1802. The terms of his will clearly indicate that he followed his early training; it reads, "First, My will & desire is that all my just debts be paid, & for that purpose to sell all my carpenters and joiners tools."⁹ The inventory of his estate also lists "som coopers tools . . . a parcel of turner's tools and a lathe bench 12 window lights . . . some drawer locks and hinges," as well as parcels of walnut and poplar plank.¹⁰

At least six of Thomas and Barsheba's sons seem to have followed their father's example. It was the eldest son, George, whose signature was found on the chest of drawers—dated, coincidentally, on the same day and month as his father's indenture contract, May 21, exactly thirty years later. His brothers James and David can also be considered active in the profession because of the inclusion of a substantial quantity of carpenter's tools in the inventories of their estates. In addition, the estates of Thomas, Jr., and Bryan list joiner's tools, and Samuel purchased turner's tools and a work bench from his father's estate.¹¹ With the father we thus have evidence of seven Sharrocks engaged in the woodworking trade.

George was presumably trained as a carpenter and joiner by his father; the chest which bears his signature demonstrates that he was a skilled craftsman at the age of twenty-two. By 1790, when he was twenty-five, he had a separate establishment, still in Northampton County,¹² but little is known of his activities after that. A deed of 1814 mentions him as a resident of Franklin County North Carolina.¹³ Family tradition suggests that he finally settled in Tennessee.

The Sharrocks formed a school in two senses of the word. Apparently they were trained by their father, or perhaps George and the older sons served as masters for the younger in a kind of informal family apprenticeship arrangement. In the other sense of the word "school," their work displays a pattern of repeated characteristics not found in other pieces of furniture, making attribution possible.

George Sharrock's signed chest of drawers serves as the key for the entire furniture group. It descended in the Scotland Neck area of Halifax County, having walnut as a primary wood and cypress in secondary positions. The chest has a

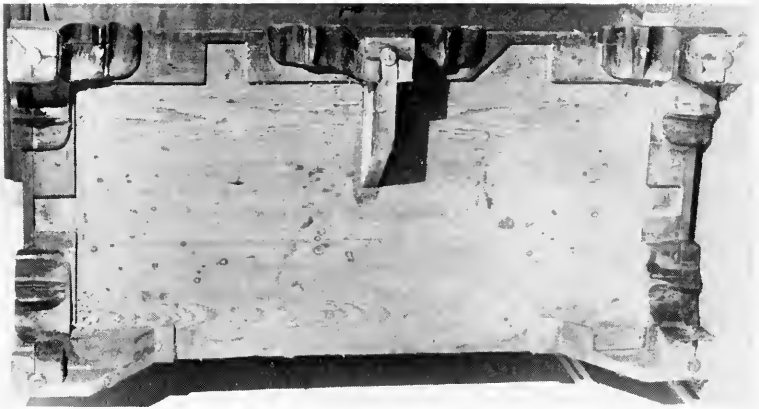


Figure 3. Base construction of the chest shown in Fig. 1.

double top with a heavily molded cornice; this is well balanced by five boldly carved ogee bracket feet which are supported by vertical blocks on horizontal mitered flankers, carved to fit the shape of the foot. The flankers rest on horizontal strips which engage the base molding (Fig. 3). The presence of a central foot at this period is quite unusual in America, and yet it seems to be a local characteristic, for examples have been noted on pieces by two other unknown builders working in the Roanoke Valley.¹⁴ The back of the chest is constructed of vertical scrub-planed boards which are set into routed sides and top, and fastened with wrought roseheaded nails.

The most exceptional feature is the unusual character of the drawer blocking. The bottoms of the drawers are beveled on three sides and nailed at the back with roseheaded nails. Full glue blocks, skillfully fitted into the bevel, run the length of the sides and are mitered into a full front block (Fig. 4). Variations of this feature appear on each of the pieces discussed in this article, and it has played a pivotal role in their attribution to this school.

So far, ten pieces have been attributed to the Sharrocks on the basis of their similarity to the signed chest of drawers; they comprise two desk-and-bookcases, three desks, two china presses, two corner cupboards, and a second chest of drawers. Of those whose histories are known, all have descended in the region of Halifax and Bertie Counties. There are several overall similarities to the chest by George Sharrock, as well

as important distinctions, which together indicate the work of different hands, although in the same shop.

The primary wood in every instance is walnut. Yellow pine appears as the secondary wood in nine of the pieces, while cypress is used in the signed chest of drawers and poplar and yellow pine are combined in one desk-and-bookcase. Walnut and yellow pine are the most frequently found wood combinations in northeastern North Carolina furniture for this period. Poplar and cypress grew locally but were less commonly used in furniture making, and their presence here probably indicates the preference of the craftsman.



Figure 4. The drawer bottom of the Fig. 1 chest.

The basic techniques of construction follow those of the signed chest, particularly in the use of full glue blocks on the drawers. There are minor variations in the character of this blocking and in the substitution of wrought finishing nails for roseheaded nails, but the most striking difference is in the application and shaping of the feet. On the unsigned chest of drawers and one china press, the vertical blocks with abutting flankers rest directly on the base of the case (Fig. 5), and the base molding is applied to the face of the case. This method of construction is technically quite different from that shown in Figure 1. In addition, with the exception of the signed



Figure 5. Foot construction of chest of drawers; walnut with yellow pine secondary. In contrast to Fig. 3, the blocks rest directly on the base of the case and the molding is flush with the case.

Figure 6. Foot detail. Typical of the majority of pieces in this group and of the Roanoke Valley in general, the ogee bracket foot turns inward as it approaches the floor.

chest and probably the desk and bookcase (Fig. 9), the ogee bracket feet turn inward at the base as is typical of the work of other craftsmen working in the area (Fig. 6).

Additional identifying characteristics appear in the more complicated case pieces — the cupboards, desks, and desk-and-bookcases. The corners of five of these are inset with fluted quarter columns, each terminating in a lamb's tongue at both top and base (Fig. 7). Because of these columns, the cupboard and bookcase doors are not attached directly to the case sides, but hang from fascia boards. Inside, shelves are set into grooved slots in a yellow pine inner-liner within the walnut sides. These shelves are adjustable, in the desk-and-bookcase (Fig. 10).

It is notable that the bookcases and the arched pediment china press have bonnets behind the pediments. This feature has also been noted in one other group in the area, but in no other region of Virginia or the Carolinas.

The arrangement of desk interiors is identical in each of the pieces which we have examined, as is the shaping of the double-ogee brackets over the letter compartments. The con-

Figure 7. Photograph courtesy of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.



Figure 7. A china press, c. 1785-1805, walnut with yellow pine secondary. HOA 108 inches, WOA 45 inches, DOA 18¾ inches. From the collection of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

struction of the interior drawers follows the method typical of this period: the bottoms are set flush with the sides and secured either with wrought nails or wooden pegs.



Figure 8. Pediment of the desk-and-bookcase shown in Figure 9. The pierced comb finial and chip-carved rosettes are characteristic of several pieces attributed to the Sharrock school.

The two desk-and-bookcases support a pierced comb finial set on a molded plinth. One finial sits within a straight arched pediment, the other is set in a scrolled pediment terminating in chip-carved rosettes (Fig. 8). This latter treatment is used on three other pieces as well, two of which have lost the original finials. Variations on the comb finial motif have been recorded on pieces from two other groups in northeastern North Carolina, but their relationship with the Sharrocks has not been determined.

Although none of the pieces discussed here is signed, the two desk-and-bookcases exhibit certain additional details which warrant attribution to a specific Sharrock.

The desk-and-bookcase shown in Figure 9 has lost its original feet, yet the remaining glue blocks indicate it once had a third foot like that on the chest of drawers made by George Sharrock. This central foot does not appear on any of the other pieces in this group, and it would seem to be a feature characteristic of George. The use of roseheaded nails and the identical character of the glue blocking of the drawers also support this attribution.



Figure 9. A desk-and-bookcase, 1785-1805, attributed to George Sharrock; walnut, with yellow pine secondary. HOA 104 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches, WOA 41 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches, DOA 21 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The two central glue blocks indicate the former presence of a third foot similar to that on the signed chest of drawers (Fig. 1).



Figure 10. A desk-and-bookcase, Bertie County, c. 1780-1802, attributed to Thomas Sharrock, Sr. Walnut with yellow pine and poplar secondary. HOA 109 inches, WOA 40 inches, DOA 22 inches.

Variations in the second desk-and-bookcase (Fig. 10) imply an earlier tradition, and specifically the hand of Thomas Sharrock, Sr. The desk combines poplar and yellow pine in secondary positions. This is the only piece in which poplar is used, and as previously noted, poplar was listed in the estate of Thomas, Sr.

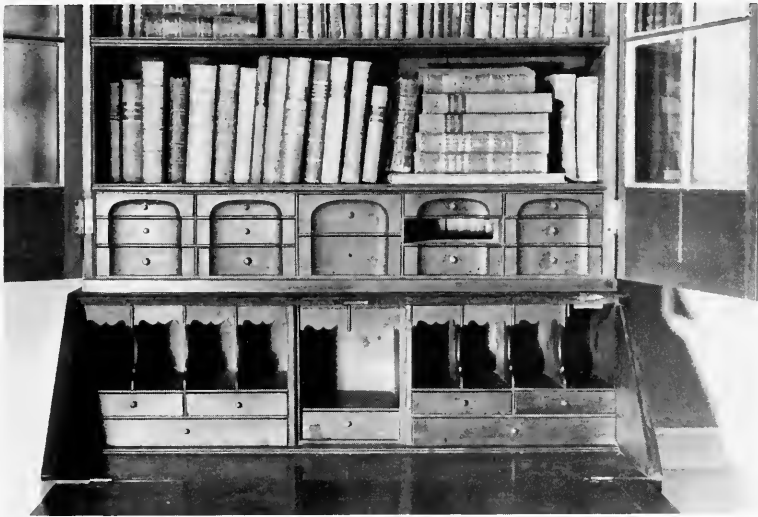


Figure 11. The interior of the desk shown in Figure 10. The prospect door is missing. Note the blocking of the bookcase interior, which is similar to that found on Massachusetts case pieces during this period. This is the only instance in which it appears in this group. The bracket over the central letter slot is bisected to conform to the measurements of the flanking brackets, and in this way creates an even rhythm across the front of the desk interior.

Unlike the previous desk-and-bookcase, the corners are unarticulated and the doors of the bookcase are hung directly to the case sides. There is no inner liner, and the astragal shelves are set into routed grooves cut into the walnut sides. The drawers inside the bookcase are quite different in character from those in all of the desks (Fig. 11). The concave shaping of these contrasts sharply with the flat surfaces of the other pieces. The blocking, the hanging of the doors, and the type of brasses on these doors are all earlier features than those found on other pieces of this group, and together with the use of poplar suggest the work of the elder Sharrock.¹⁵

This remarkable group of case pieces represents the only cabinetmaking school in the Albemarle area of North Carolina which we can so far associate with a definite name, and yet it is only one instance of a number of very talented craftsmen working in that region. Many questions remain to be answered about the Sharrocks, especially, how many of them were actively involved in the production of furniture? The appearance of such features as the comb finial and the central foot on several other groups of furniture made in this area during the same period suggests a common heritage. What relationship existed between the Sharrocks and the makers of these other pieces? It is hoped that further investigation will provide answers to these questions and suggest additional avenues of research.

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NOTES

1. According to the Daughtrey-Sharrock-Hollowell Bible, Thomas Sharrock's oldest son, George, was born April 13, 1765.
2. Capt. Arthur Smith was a large plantation owner in Halifax County, North Carolina. His will was proved in that county in May 1789, two years after the chest of drawers was made and signed. "Will of Arthur Smith, 7 February 1789," *Halifax County Wills*, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh.
3. J. F. D. Smyth, *A Tour in the United States of America* (London, 1784), Vol. I, p. 98.
4. William L. Saunders, ed., *Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: P. M. Hale, 1886), Vol. IX, p. 22.
5. "Deed between Thomas Sharrock and William and Mary Granberry, 11 August 1766," *Northampton County Deed Book 4*, p. 40, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh.
6. "Deed of Indenture between Thomas Sharrock and Richard Taylor, 21 May 1756," *Norfolk County Deed Book 17*, p. 214, Courthouse, Chesapeake, Virginia.
7. St. George's Parish, *Warden's Record 1773-1814*, p. 2, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh.
8. The Daughtrey-Sharrock-Hollowell Bible lists George, Thomas, Jr., Bryant, John, William, James, Samuel, Elizabeth, Steven, Dempsey, Zadock, and David.

9. "Will of Thomas Sharrock, Sr., 2 April 1797," *Bertie County Wills*, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh.
10. "Inventory of Thomas Sharrock, Sr., 15 Februray 1802," *Bertie County Estates*, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh.
11. "Estate Sale of James Sharrock, 11 November 1799"; "inventory of David Sharrock, 7 January 1811"; "inventory and estate sale of Thomas and Bryan Sharrock, 13 June 1795"; "estate sale of Thomas Sharrock, Sr., 10 March 1802," *Bertie County Estates*, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh.
12. *1790 Census of Northampton County*, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh.
13. "Power of attorney between George Sharrock and Samuel Sharrock, 22 December 1814," *Bertie County Deed Book*, W, p. 263, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh.
14. See Frank L. Horton, "The Work of an Anonymous Carolina Cabinetmaker," *Antiques*, January, 1972, pp. 169-176. A three-footed china cupboard has since been added to this group. A third group, by an unknown maker with the initials "J. C.," consists of two desks and a built-in cupboard, all with three front feet. There is little comparison between construction techniques of these three groups.
15. The documentary evidence, although inconclusive, supports this attribution. The desk-and-bookcase has descended in the family of Thomas F. Norfleet of Bertie County. The estate settlement of his father, Reuben, included a payment to the estate of Thomas Sharrock in 1802. "Estate settlement of Reuben Norfleet, 1802," *Bertie County Estates*, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh.

I would like to thank Mr. Francis Speight for his courtesy in sharing information from the Daughtrey-Sharrock-Hollowell Bible.

The Riflemakers of Eighteenth Century Kentucky

THOMAS A. STROHFELDT

The importance of the rifle was emphasized by an early Kentucky settler, Daniel Drake, when he wrote: "The rifle, indispensable [*sic*] both for hunting and defense, lay on two pegs driven into one of the logs."¹ The necessity of having a rifle in order to provide food and safety for their families was well known to those pioneers who emigrated to the American frontier, and as a result, schools of riflemaking in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas developed around frontier trade. The risks and demands of wilderness travel and warfare must have damaged many soundly made guns, leaving the owners in peril while their weapons were useless. It was this imperative need for the repair or replacement of damaged arms which brought riflemakers to Kentucky throughout the period of settlement.

In the years of Indian warfare, which extended through 1795 in Kentucky, the defense of life was the first concern.² As Humphrey Marshall stated in 1812, in his *History of Kentucky*, "the first sight was equal to the first shot, and the most expert marksman had the best security for his life."³ In those days of continual fighting along the frontier, boys as young as twelve and thirteen were given rifles and expected to stand their places at the stockade loopholes during an attack.⁴ All expeditions outside of the stockades were hazardous as revealed in early accounts:

Their work was often carried on by parties, each one of whom had his rifle and everything else belonging to his war dress. These were deposited in some central place in the field. A centinal [*sic*] was stationed on the outside of the fence, so that on the least alarm, the company repaired to their arms, and were ready for the combat in a moment.⁵

The wild game of Kentucky, so vital to the existence of the early explorers, remained a staple to the pioneers. John Filson, who has been described as Kentucky's earliest historian and cartographer, made the following observations in 1784 about the wild game in the territory:

There are still to be found many deer, elks, and bears within the settlement, and many more on the border of it . . .⁶ I have often heard a hunter assert, he saw above one thousand buffaloes at the Blue Licks at once, so numerous were they before the first settlers had wantonly sported away their lives.⁷

"Old Rector," an early hunter of Mason County, was a large coarse Leatherstocking and still depended much on his rifle for the means of subsistence, as he cultivated but little land. . . . Deer hunting, however, seemed to have been old Leatherstocking's cherished pursuit [*sic*] . . . [resulting in] clothing, food, and fiddle strings for the banjo. . . .⁸

Fortescue Cuming, in *Sketches of a Tour to the Western Country*, noted during his travels through eastern Kentucky that shooting the rifle was a favorite amusement.⁹ The diversion of a shooting match often broke the strain or boredom of frontier life, even if the prize was nothing more than all the lead which had been fired.¹⁰ As towns grew, matches remained popular, and strictures against "shooting at a mark within the lotts [*sic*] . . ."¹¹ were among the earliest legislation in the young Kentucky towns.

By its use in hunting, defense, and sporting competition, the longrifle was integrated into the daily life of the early Kentuckian. His need for rifles dictated the practice of the trade, and gunsmiths soon followed the initial settlement, leaving both the comfort and craft competition of their eastern homes to gamble their success in an area where demand was

great. The difficulty of transporting tools and setting up shop in a new country must have discouraged many mechanics, particularly when "the great occupation was clearing off the forest and cultivating the rich and fresh new soil."¹² It is certain, however, that the need for the mechanic arts insured the establishment of the various trades in Kentucky.

Within the stockaded stations of the earliest settlements Squire Boone shod horses and stocked guns while William Pogue is said to have done coopering at Boonesboro and made some furniture at Harrodsburg prior to 1778.¹³⁻¹⁴ An interesting view of the role of a tradesman on the Kentucky frontier is given in an interview with a Kentucky pioneer:

The first dishes we had were trenchers made by one Terry in the station — a turner. He turned dishes and bowls, and being no hunter exchanged them for meat and tallow to us hunters.¹⁵

As the various campaigns against the Indians brought greater safety to the population of Kentucky, immigration checkered the countryside with a number of towns. The economic opportunity for craftsmen was clearly indicated in 1797 when Edward Harris wrote that in Washington, Kentucky's second largest town at the time,¹⁶ "tradesmen are scarce, and exorbitant [*sic*] in their prices."¹⁷ John Rogers was working as a gunsmith in Washington in that year and his established success is documented by his earlier appointment as a trustee of the town in 1793.¹⁸ By the 1790's inventories reflect the availability of the requisite heavy tools of rifle-making; anvils, bellows, and post vises are recorded, presumably having been brought by water carriage.¹⁹

While the repair of broken weapons and the re-stocking of those too badly damaged to repair must have comprised a good deal of the trade of Kentucky's early riflemakers, apparently their work was not limited to these functions. The Fayette County riflemaker, Daniel Bryan, is said to have "made Squire Boone a set of silver buttons for him to wear to the assembly in Virginia, and engraved his name on them. . . ."²⁰ Edward West of Lexington was described by one who remembered him as:

. . . a man of all work and of all ideas. He could make a clock or mend one. He could make a

rifled gun or mend one, he could make a bank lock or key. Within my recollection he could make or mend anything.²¹

Many of the early riflemakers worked as journeymen or had served apprenticeships in areas with strong schools of riflemaking, and would have been acquainted with the entire manufacture of the gun. American riflemakers working in schools in the eastern part of the country during this period were men of diverse abilities who could forge, and also finish iron and steel with the skill of a whitesmith,²² cast brass and silver, stock the parts of a gun, and ornament that stock with incised and relief carving, as well as engrave the metal mountings. The indenture of John Steward to Michael Humble, written in Jefferson County in 1782, stipulated that Steward was “. . . to learn the art & mystery of Blacksmith and Gunsmith,”²³ again implying more than gunstocking.

While it is fascinating to speculate on how much of the gun's manufacture was undertaken in Kentucky in the eigh-

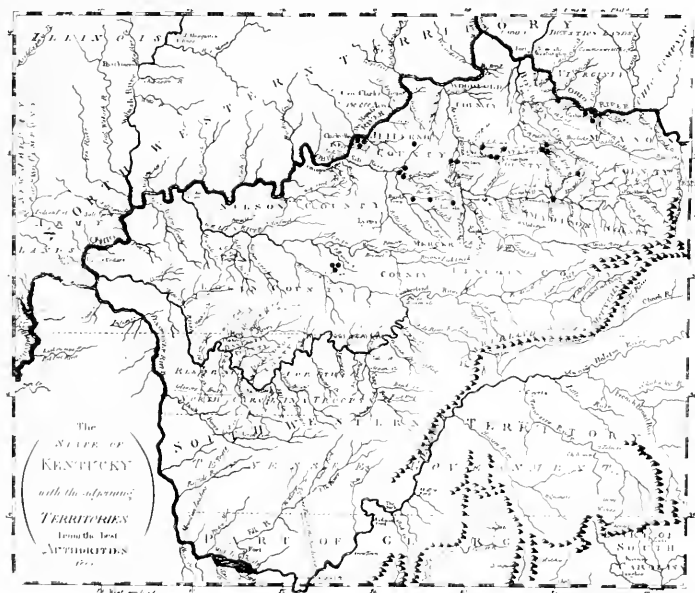


Figure 1. Map of Kentucky showing distribution of eighteenth century riflemakers, 1800. Author's collection.

teenth century, the answer awaits the discovery of signed guns and the archaeological investigation of the sites of early shops. Until that time the styles of rifles produced in Kentucky must remain a mystery, although they will certainly reflect the background of their makers and local tastes in stock architecture, mountings, carved and engraved ornament, and conventions of construction.

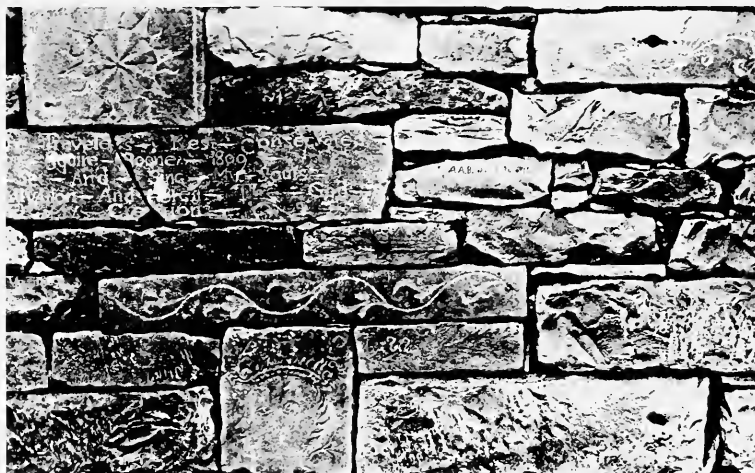


Figure 2. Carved stones. A part of the foundation wall of Squire Boone's mill near Mauckport, Indiana, 1809. Courtesy of Arville Funk.

Apparently it was not demand, but competition which produced the finest work. Although the elegance of a rifle insured its salability east of the mountains, any shootable gun would have found a buyer along the frontier. While this may prepare us to find little of artistic significance on the longrifles of Kentucky, a group of carved stones which were executed by Squire Boone at his last home in Indiana give us insight into the decorative repertoire of this early Kentucky riflemaker. As shown in figures 2, 3, 4, and 5 these designs positively relate to the designs used on longrifles in the early period. It is unlikely that Boone could retain these decorative details and the desire to use them until the end of his life without employing them on his rifle work in Kentucky.

The majority of gunsmiths who are documented in this study were evenly distributed throughout the Bluegrass area of Kentucky, while a second group of riflemakers settled in



Figure 3. Valentine Fondersmith; patchbox of a longrifle of the Lancaster, Pennsylvania school showing "Indian Head" profile related to Squire Boone's carved stones, c. 1770. J. Frederick Beck collection.



Figure 4. Unsigned longrifle of Berks County, Pennsylvania school. Buttstock carving related to motif in Squire Boone carved stones, c. 1775. Tom Wilson collection.

the Virginia military district in present Hart, Barren and Green Counties (Fig. 1). Nearly half the total number came from Virginia, while Pennsylvania supplied twenty percent, Maryland and North Carolina two percent each, and New Jersey one percent.

The thirty documented workmen given in the checklist to follow affirm that the trade of riflemaking was practiced in Kentucky in the eighteenth century. It is hoped that this initial survey will lead to the discovery and attribution of Kentucky longrifles of this period.



Figure 5. Unsigned longrifle of Berks County, Pennsylvania school. Buttstock carving also related to motif in Squire Boone's carved stones, c. 1775. Private collection.

Photographs in this article by Don F. Wittekind, graphic arts department, Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio.

RIFLEMAKERS IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY KENTUCKY

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date first noted in Kentucky</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Origin</i>
Squire Boone	1769	Shelby County Boonesboro	Pennsylvania Maryland Virginia North Carolina
Jonah Eaton	1775	Mouth of Kentucky River Cox's Station	New Jersey

Boone was observed "stocking a gun" at Boonesboro. Traditionally said to have apprenticed to Samuel Boone from 1759-64.

Source:

Draper Mss. 17cc 194; a/c of the Henderson papers.

Eaton was described as "a Jersey man and a gunsmith." Later, it was remarked that "he stocked a gun well."

Source:

"Mesheck Carter vs. Samuel Oldham; Nelson County, May term 1800," as cited in James Hughes, *A Report of the Causes, Supreme Court of Kentucky, Court of Appeals 1785-1801*, 1869, pp. 182-183.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date first noted in Kentucky</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Origin</i>
Michael Humble	1777	Lincoln County Louisville	Pennsylvania

Michael Humble is said to have had a gunshop in Louisville near Twelfth and Main streets by Fort Nelson. By 1782 he had removed to Lincoln County, and at that date indentured John Steward of Jefferson County to "learn the art & mystery of Blacksmith and Gunsmith."

Sources:

Jefferson County Minute Order Book A, p. 35.

Walter H. Kelly, *Arms, Arms Makers, and Arms History in Kentucky*, University of Louisville Archives.

Daniel Bryan	1779	Fayette County	North Carolina
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Settled at Bryan's Station in 1779. Indentured two apprentices, John and Joseph Richardson in January 1804. Advertised for runaway apprentices in 1808 and 1810.

Sources:

Fayette County Order Book A, pp. 106, 123.

The Kentucky Gazette, Lexington, December 3, 1808, May 1, 1810.

Henry French	1774		
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French was paid by George Rogers Clark for his "services as an armorer, providing his own tools for 5 months" during the Illinois campaign.

Source:

George Rogers Clark papers, Virginia State Library; 03, plate 850, 03, plate 854.

Joseph Duncan	1780	Ft. Nelson	Virginia
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Served as armorer at Ft. Nelson, 1780-1781.

Source:

Julian Boyd, ed., *Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, 5:154, as cited in Harold Gill, *The Gunsmith in Colonial Virginia*, p. 81.

James Harvey	1780	Ft. Jefferson	
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A bill was presented for "one gun lock of the best kind made way with while in Harvey's care."

Source:

George Rogers Clark Papers, B-3, plates 556, 634.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date first noted in Kentucky</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Origin</i>
John Steward	1782	Lincoln County	
Indentured to Michael Humble, February 18, 1782.			
Source: <i>Jefferson County Minute Order Book A</i> , p. 35.			
Jarrett Burton	1782	Mason County	Virginia
Worked in the Fredericksburg Manufactory 1777-1781 and emigrated to Mason County in 1782, where he petitioned the government for a pension in 1833.			
Source: John F. Dorman, ed., <i>Virginia Revolutionary Pension Applications</i> , Washington, 1967, 13, pp. 50-1.			
Samuel Boone	1782	Shelby County	Pennsylvania Maryland
Samuel Boone was born in Berks County, Pennsylvania, in 1736. He resided in Frederick County, Maryland, from prior to 1767 until 1782, and operated a gun-lock factory there from 1776-1782. He removed to Kentucky with his cousin, Squire Boone, and settled at Boone's station on Brashear's creek in Shelby County.			
Sources: <i>Deed book L</i> , pp. 78 and 79, Frederick County, Maryland. <i>Archives of Maryland</i> , pp. 327, 338, 386, 525. <i>Maryland Journal</i> , Baltimore, September 1, 1778, p. 1, Walter H. Kelly, <i>op. cit.</i>			
George Mefford	1783	Mason	Pennsylvania
Mefford, by local tradition a gunsmith, had "two gun rods" and "one gun barrel and rod" as well as other gunsmithing tools in his inventory.			
Source: <i>Will Book A.</i> , p. 323, Mason County, Kentucky.			
William Rice	1784	Fort Nelson	Virginia
Paid by George Rogers Clark for his "services as an armorer. 41 16s, Nov. 2, 1784. Ft. Nelson, Falls of the Ohio."			
<i>George Rogers Clark Papers</i> , Book 0-3, plate 883.			
Edward West, Senior	1784	Georgetown	Stafford County Virginia
Named as a "rifle-maker" in Georgetown in a secondary source. West apparently worked as a gunsmith in King George and Stafford Counties in Virginia.			

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date first noted in Kentucky</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Origin</i>
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Sources:

Walter H. Kelly, *op. cit.*

William Allason Papers, Ledger A, p. 136; Ledger B, p. 167; Ledger E, p. 103, as cited in Harold Gill, *The Gunsmith in Colonial Virginia*, p. 106.

Edward West	1785	Lexington	Virginia
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The versatile Edward West worked as a gunsmith, silversmith, and inventor in Lexington from 1785 until his death in 1827.

Sources:

The Nashville Whig, August 20, 1820.

The Kentucky Gazette, August 9, 1788, pp. 1-3; December 4, 1790, pp. 1-2; December 20, 1792, pp. 3-4; March 7, 1795, pp. 2-4.

James Donald	1786	Bourbon County	
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Donald's inventory contains "2 rifling rods" as well as other tools which may have been used in gunsmithing.

Source:

Order Book A, Bourbon County, p. 2.

John Rogers	1791	Mason	
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John Rogers, who bought "one in-lot" and a five-acre out-lot in Washington, Kentucky, in 1791, had many gun parts and gunsmithing tools in his inventory.

Sources:

Mason County Deed Book A, p. 36.

Mason County Will Book B, p. 67.

Peter Stiger	1791	Nelson County	
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A judgment is recorded against Peter Stiger over the public arms deposited with him for repair.

Source:

Nelson County Court Records, Book A, pp. 69-70.

James Lowry	1793	Lexington	
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Lowry advertised that "he makes and repairs guns."

Sources:

Kentucky Gazette, Lexington, 12 October 1793, pp. 3-4.

The Reporter, Lexington, Kentucky, January 28, 1812, pp. 3-5.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date first noted in Kentucky</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Origin</i>
William Lytle	1794	Bracken County	Pennsylvania
Lytle, who "located near the mouth of Bracken creek," is said to have been a "gun and locksmith" by Perrin.			
Source: William Henry Perrin, <i>History of Bourbon, Scott, Harrison, and Nicholas Counties</i> , Cinti., 1882, p. 754.			
John Treber	1794	Limestone	Allegheny County Pennsylvania
John Treber "went to Limestone Kentucky in 1794" and worked as a gunsmith until he removed to Ohio in 1797.			
Source: Evans and Stivers, <i>A History of Adams County, Ohio</i> , 1900, pp. 669-670.			
Isaac Orchard	1797	Paris	
Orchard advertised for a runaway "apprentice to the gunsmith business" in December of 1797.			
Source: <i>Kentucky Gazette</i> , December 9, 1797, pp. 3-4.			
Samuel Purdie	1797	Paris	
Purdie is the apprentice who ran away from Isaac Orchard.			
Source: <i>Kentucky Gazette</i> , Dec. 9, 1797, pp. 3-4.			
William Graham	1799	Frankfort	Virginia
Graham located in Frankfort prior to 1799; he removed to Woodford County by 1803.			
Sources: <i>Federal Population Census</i> , 1800. <i>Woodford County Court Records</i> , Book C, p. 563.			
Samuel W. White	1800	Shelby County	
In a letter William Henry Harrison drafted to secure a pension for White for wounds sustained at the battle of Tippecanoe, he mentioned that "he is by trade a gunsmith."			

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date first noted in Kentucky</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Origin</i>
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Sources:

Register of the Kentucky Historical Society, vol. 51, no. 175,
April, 1953, p. 148.

Federal Population Census, 1800.

Hezekiah Davidson 1800 Barren County

By the time of the 1820 census of manufactures, Davidson employed two hands, and had a shop equipped with "one boring wheel, and guides made of wood and iron."

Sources:

Federal Population Census, 1800.

1820 Census of Manufactures.

Thomas Lane 1800 Montgomery County

Sources:

Federal Population Census, 1800.

1820 Census of Manufactures.

James Kelsoe 1800 Barren County

Sources:

Federal Population Census, 1800.

1820 Census of Manufactures.

Samuel Kelsoe 1800 Barren County

Sources:

Federal Population Census, 1800.

1820 Census of Manufactures.

Jeremiah Tilford 1800 Mercer County

Sources:

Federal Population Census, 1800.

1820 Census of Manufactures.

Richard Bennette 1800 Franklin County

Sources:

Federal Population Census, 1800.

1820 Census of Manufactures.

Mr. Strobfeldt served as an apprentice gunsmith at Colonial Williamsburg and more recently as Assistant Curator at the Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio.

NOTES

1. Daniel Drake, *Pioneer Life in Kentucky* (Cincinnati: Robert Clark, 1870), p. 20.
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3. Humphrey Marshall, *The History of Kentucky* (Frankfort: Henry Gore, 1812), p. 30.
4. Joseph Doddridge, *Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars* (Pittsburg, 1912), p. 123.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 109.
6. John Filson, *The Discovery, Settlement, and Present State of Kentucky* (Wilmington: James Adams, 1784), p. 28.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
8. Daniel Drake, *op. cit.*, p. 211.
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10. David Crockett, *An Account of Col. Crockett's Tour to the North and Down East*, 1865, pp. 236-238.
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12. Daniel Drake, *op. cit.*, p. 179.
13. *Draper Mss.* 17cc 194, a/c of the Henderson papers (Wisconsin State Historical Society).
14. E. T. Whitley, *A Checklist of Kentucky Cabinetmakers from 1775 to 1859*, (Paris: Kentucky, 1969), p. 85.
15. *The Filson Club History Quarterly*, Vol. 2, No. 3, p. 95.
16. *Federal Population Census*, 1800.
17. Edward Harris to Thomas Christie, April 11, 1797 (New Hampshire Historical Society).
18. William Lytle, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 199-201.
19. *Mason County Will Book A*, and also *Will Book B*, pp. 13-46.
20. Walter H. Kelly, *Arms, Arms Makers and Arms History in Kentucky* (University of Louisville Archives).
21. W. R. Jillson, "Samuel D. McCullough's Reminiscences of Lexington" as cited in the *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, Vol. 27, No. 79, January, 1929, p. 420.
22. A whitesmith polishes or finishes metal goods, rather than forging them.
23. *Jefferson County Minute Order Book A*, p. 35.

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